



ABORIGINAL MYTHS AND TRADITIONS CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF TITICACA, BOLIVIA¹

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The most authentic sources for aboriginal Indian traditions are songs, orations, and tales, known to the members of religious societies of which every Indian tribe has at least the rudiments. These societies sometimes preserve the most remote records, through oral transmission. The substance changes but little in the course of centuries, but the form may suffer modifications that distort the original picture or even shroud it almost completely.

On the Island of Titicaca the changes which its Indian population has undergone, and the promiscuous origin of the present inhabitants, make it very doubtful if any original folklore may still be found. Traces of esoteric clusters exist, but these were not originally from Titicaca. Their present members may have been born there, but their parents or grandparents resided elsewhere and their lore does not embody traditions from very remote periods.

Therefore, at the very inception of our stay on the Island of Titicaca we were assured that there was no trace of ancient folklore in the recollection of its inhabitants. Notwithstanding the partial truth of these assertions, we obtained several tales which, while liable to objections, still refer to pre-Spanish times and conditions. Insofar as their principal secrets of magic and their most important dances are concerned, the Indians of Titicaca acknowledge that they

¹ This paper is a part of a monograph on the islands of Titicaca and Koati, which will embody the results of explorations made for the American Museum of Natural History in Peru and Bolivia in 1895.

derived them from two points on the shore of the lake—Sampaya and Huaicho. It is therefore possible that the folklore concerning Titicaca is from one or the other of these two points, or from both. It is also possible that what the Indian of today gives as genuine traditions, were related to his ancestors by Spaniards and especially by priests, and from data preserved by writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I shall record the few stories gathered by us, adverting at the same time that it was only little by little and with reluctance that the Indians became at all communicative on such topics. Their reticence might lead to the supposition that what they told contains some primitive elements.

The belief that, in times far beyond the distinct recollection of man, the sun first rose from the "Sacred Rock," or Titi-Kala, was expressed to us by several Indians on the island, one of whom, an aged blind man, also stated that the moon was created there. The large nodules of limonite, which are regarded as tracks of the sun and moon, bear some relation to this belief. One of our informants was an old wizard, who told us that "the sun rose into the heavens from the Sacred Rock, in the shape of a big flame." But he also added that "the sun was the child of a woman" whom he called "Mama-Ojllia, who was also the mother of Manco Capac." About the origin of the moon he professed to be ignorant.

"In very ancient times," said he, "the island was inhabited by gentlemen [*caballeros*] similar to the Viracochas, the name given to whites by the Indians today." Whence these "gentlemen" came he knew not. "They had intercourse with the women of the people, and the children were deposited in caves, where they were kept alive by water dripping from the rock of the ceiling. After a certain time the mothers went to look after their offspring and found them alive and well. These children, who had thus been exposed, became the *Inga-Ré* [Incas], and they drove out the gentlemen and held the island thereafter." Whither the expelled "Viracochas" retreated, the tale sayeth not. (1)* The narrator mentioned the names of two women who acquired some note on the island, one of whom he called "Maria-Ka," the other "Mama Chocuayllo." About the Incas he remembered the names of Manco Capac, Viracocha,

* See notes at the end of the article.

Huaynacapac, Roca, Huascar, and Atahuallpa, saying of Huascar that the Spaniards killed him near the island.

In a subsequent conversation the wizard stated that Atahuallpa lived on the island and Huascar at Cuzco, and that after the time of the "Inga-Ré" the lake once dried up so completely that people from Huaicho came over on foot and killed the "Chullpa" then living on Titicaca. From one or the other Indian we obtained at least partial confirmation of this. All seemed to agree that the sun had made its first appearance on the Sacred Rock, and that the "Inga-Ré" originated on the island.

While we were at the pueblo of Tiquina, the parish priest, Father Nicanor Vizcarra, recounted to us the following tale which had been related to him by an Indian from Copacavana :

"The peninsula of Copacavana was inhabited, prior to the time of the Incas, by a tribe of rude Indians who owned flocks of llamas. Among those whose duty it was to herd the animals was a dumb girl. Every evening the herders returned the flocks to the care of the chief of the tribe, but for several months the dumb girl failed to put in her appearance. The fact of the matter was that the girl had given birth to a male child in some cave on the peninsula, and had left the infant in care of a female deer. The fatherless boy grew up in that cave, his mother visiting him daily toward evening. This went on for a number of years, until at last somebody followed her stealthily. He saw her approach the cave. A boy rushed out of it and embraced her, and she returned his caresses. When this boy reached the age of manhood he begged his mother to give him a club and to make him three slings. With the aid of these weapons he soon grew to be very powerful, and this was the origin of the Incas."

This tale has a slight resemblance to the Montezuma story as told in New Mexico. (2) But the bringing up of the child in a cave, and with the assistance of a female deer, also recalls the story of Romulus and Remus. It is not impossible that the legend of the foundation of Rome had been related by priests to Indians whom they educated, as has been the case all over Spanish America. I have been more than once surprised at listening to Indian friends of mine, in New Mexico and Mexico, who could read and write, and to whom the curate or missionary had told bits of classical history. (3) While I am far from asserting that the story from

Copacavana has such an origin, it is well to bear in mind such a possibility. (4) The influences to which the Indian of Spanish America has been subjected during the last three and a half centuries have been such that we cannot expect to find many traditions that have not suffered in some manner or other from European ideas. It is among tales preserved by the earliest writers, who were in the country during or immediately after the conquest, that we may look for authentic and mostly unimpaired folklore; and, probably also, to a certain extent, among the Indians of today, wherever we succeed in gaining their absolute confidence.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, royal chronicler and for many years an officer of high rank in some of the Spanish possessions of America, did not visit Peru, but he took special pains to ascertain from those who returned therefrom, immediately after the incident at Cajamarca, and in subsequent years, what they had learned about the country and its inhabitants. Among them were Diego de Molina, Alonzo de Montemayor, and other noted men of the time. While he does not specify his source in every case, it is plain that his information was always first-hand. His allusion to the history of the Inca tribe, while brief, has the merit of being, so far as is now known, the earliest that has been preserved.

Oviedo says of Cuzco: "To this land there came in ancient times [anciently], a great lord with a people they call Inga, and now they call themselves Big Ears [Orejones], and only the Supreme Lord they call Inga. . . . This lord they call Inga peopled the Cuzco." (5) This indicates that the first Spaniards who came in contact with the Peruvian Indians understood them to believe and say that the Incas were not originally from the valley of Cuzco.

Among those who participated in the conquest of Peru from the very beginning was Juan de Betanzos, who spent the rest of his life at Cuzco, having married an Indian girl from the Inca tribe. Part of his book is lost, but enough remains to afford valuable data. Betanzos concluded the work in 1551, after laboring for several years over translations from Spanish into Quichua, and vice versa, so that he was familiar with the Quichua language. (6) Such tasks could be performed only with the aid of Indians, and Betanzos, aside from the assistance rendered by his wife, enjoyed the great

advantage of intimate intercourse with natives conversant with ancient lore. These same advantages, however, exposed him to a serious danger, the same danger that lessened the value of works written half a century later by Indian writers in Mexico. His informants were Inca, hence they told only their side of the story, with a natural tendency to extol to the conquerors, whose favor they were beginning to court, the importance of their tribe and its culture. Even traditions and myths, when told by people thus influenced, suffer the loss of some of their purity. I shall have occasion to refer at length to an official Spanish investigation of Indian lore, in which Betanzos took part. Meanwhile he tells us :

“ In ancient times, they say, the country and province of Peru was dark, having neither light nor day. In those times there were certain people in it, which people had a certain chief who commanded them, and to whom they were subjected. Of the name of that people and of the chief who commanded them they have no recollection. And in those times, when all was night in this land, they say that from a lagoon in this country of Peru, in the province called Collasuyo, came a chief whom they called Con Tici Viracocha, who, they say, had with him a certain number of people, which number they do not recollect. And after he had come out of this lagoon he went to a place near it, where today stands a village called Tiaguanaco, in this aforesaid province of the Collao ; and when he and his people were there, they say that at once, and unexpectedly, he made the sun and the day, and ordered the sun to move in the course in which it now moves ; and afterward, they say, he made the stars and the moon. Of this Con Tici Viracocha they relate that he had appeared once before, and on that occasion he made the heavens and the earth, leaving them in darkness, and that when he made the people who lived in darkness as aforesaid, this people did some sort of wrong to this Viracocha, and as he was angered by it he turned to come out again, as the first time, and those first people and their chief he converted into stones, in punishment for the anger they had caused him.”

Betanzos proceeds to relate how the aforesaid Viracocha made, at Tiahuanaco, men and women out of stones. His companions he told to scatter, and, pointing out to them the people he had created from the stones, said to them :

“ These shall be called so and so, and will come out of such a spring in such a province, and will settle in it and grow and multiply there ;

and those will come out of such a cave and their name will be so and so, and they will settle in such a place ; and as I have them here painted and carved out of stone, so they shall come forth from springs and rivers, caves and heights, in the provinces I have told you and named ; and now you go in that direction (pointing to the rising sun) — indicating to each one the line which he had to travel.

“ With himself he kept only two of his followers ; the others started on their peregrination, in the direction assigned to them. Each one, as he came to the province designated, called out aloud : ‘ So and so, come forth and settle in this deserted region, for so it is ordered by the Con Tici Viracocha who made the world.’ Thereupon the people would come out of the places foretold by the Viracocha. While these executed his commands in the direction of the east, the great Viracocha dispatched his two companions, one to the south and the other to the north, while he himself went to the northwest toward Cuzco. On his way he kept on peopling the country in the manner described, by creating men and women from rocks, springs, and rivers, and when he reached the site of Cuzco he caused to come forth a chief called by him Alcaviza, and also gave the place its name Cuzco. Con Tici Viracocha continued his journey as far as the coast of Ecuador, where his companions rejoined him. There they all began to walk together on the waters of the sea and disappeared.” (7)

Alcaviza settled the site of Cuzco, and after that settlement had been made, a cavern opened at a nearby place called Pacaritambo, and out of this cave came four men with their women. One of the men was called Ayar Mango, afterward called Manco Capac. Two of the others had a rather strange fate — one being immured alive in a cave and the other becoming an idol. Manco Capac, however, settled at Cuzco with Alcaviza, and through his shrewdness became the first chief of the tribe and the founder of the Incas. (8)

This tale shows every mark of genuine Indian tradition, so far as it can be when not told in the original language or in a literal rendering from the text. It may thus be summarized : (a) There were two successive creations, both by the same being, who is thought to have been a man with divine attributes or at least with creative faculties. (b) This creator and his followers, after the first creation, came out of Lake Titicaca and went to Tiahuanaco, where the second creation was effected by him. (c) The origin of the

Inca is represented as posterior to the first settlement of Cuzco and is not ascribed to a colonization or to a conquest.

Cieza de Leon was a contemporary of Betanzos, but went to Peru several years after the conquest. Nevertheless the information gathered by him is valuable, since it is not likely that at his time aboriginal traditions could have become contaminated with ideas imported from the Old World. In the first part of his *Crónica del Perú* he mentions a myth to the effect that after many years spent in darkness, the sun rose from the Island of Titicaca in great splendor; thenceforth this island was regarded as sacred, and the Inca reared on it a temple dedicated to "their sun." (9) In another place he says that one of the principal chiefs of the Collao went to the "lagoon of Titicaca, and met on its principal island white men with beards with whom he fought in such a manner as to succeed in killing them all." (10) It is not clear whether this applies to Titicaca or whether (since it seems to be a tradition of the "Collao") one of the large islands near Puno is meant. Amantani and Capachica are quite as conspicuous as Titicaca, and the difference in size is insignificant. Should the event related be true, Cieza furnishes an approximate date for its occurrence, placing it during the term of office of the chief Viracocha, hence the invasion of Titicaca by the Collao would have occurred in the fourteenth century. (11)

In the second part of this *Crónica* Cieza is more detailed:

"Before the Incas ruled in these kingdoms and were known in them, the Indians tell another much more important thing than all the rest, for they affirm that for a long time they were without seeing the sun, and that suffering a great deal on that account, they prayed and made vows to those on whom they looked as their gods, begging them for the light of which they were deprived. And while this was going on the sun rose in great splendor from the Island of Titicaca, which is within this great lagoon of the Collao, so that all were delighted. And after this had happened, they say that from the part of midday there appeared and came a white man of large size who showed great authority and inspired veneration by his aspect and person; and that this man, of whom they say he had so much power that of heights he made levels and of plains great heights, creating springs in live rock. And as they recognized in him such power, they called him Maker of all Created Things, Beginning Thereof, Father of the Sun, for they say that besides these he performed

other and greater deeds, because he gave to men and animals their existence and that finally they derived from him great benefits." (12)

This being, the Indians, according to Cieza, call Ticiviracocha, also Tupaca and Aranuan or Arnauan. Regarding the islands he relates a tale that white men inhabited it, which white and "bearded people were killed by a chief called Cari, who had come from the valley of Coquimbo in Chile." (13) He also states that when Inca Viracocha was war-captain at Cuzco, he received messengers from the chiefs of the Collao, one of whom had waged war against the inhabitants of the islands of the lake and had come out victorious. (14) Cieza places the origin of the Inca at Pacaritampu also, and fairly agrees with Betanzos.

It will not be amiss to call attention to the fact that Cieza, while contemporary (he finished the manuscript of the *Crónicas* at Lima in 1550, a year before Betanzos concluded his book), had much less opportunity for intimate intercourse with the natives. He went to Peru when less than twenty years of age; four years later he was in Colombia, later returning to the coast of Peru only for a comparatively short time. Cieza was a precocious youth, and it is not impossible that the traditions were obtained by him from Betanzos or at least through his instrumentality. He was not familiar with the Quichua language, hence had to depend on such Spaniards as knew the idiom, or on Indians who understood sufficient Spanish to be able to interpret. (15)

While, in 1542, Cieza was writing the first part of his chronicle in the Spanish town of Cartago, in southern Colombia, the Licentiate Don Cristoval Vaca de Castro, who had subdued the rebellion of the younger Almagro and was de facto governor of Peru, instituted an official inquiry concerning the ancient lore of the Cuzco Indians, the results of which are contained in a document, published by the late Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, under the title *Discurso sobre la Descendencia y Gobierno de los Ingas*. Vaca de Castro, —

"pretending with great solicitude to ascertain the antiquity of the Indians of this kingdom and their origin, and whether they were natives of this land or had come from other parts, caused all the old Ingas and ancient men of Cuzco, and its surroundings to be called together and brought

before him, and informing himself from them as intended, not one replied satisfactorily, but each in a different way, according to his knowledge and without being able to give any other information than that all the Ingas were descendants of Manco Capac, who was the first Inga, without being able to give any other statement, as they disagreed among themselves. In this dilemma they said that all the past Ingas had their *quipocamayos*, as well of the origin and beginning as of the times and occurrences in the days of their chiefs. They related the coming to Cuzco of Chalcochima and Quisquis, tyrannical captains for Ataovallpa Inga, who destroyed the country and killed all the *quipocamayos* that fell into their hands, saying that they had to begin anew with Ticccicapac Inga, as they called the Ataovallpa Inga. They named some who were still alive, but hidden in the woods from fear of the tyrants of the past. Forthwith Vaca de Castro sent for them, and there were brought before him four very old men.

"These *quipocamayos* were like historiographers, or accountants, and there had been many of them, and all agreed in their *quipos* and accounts. Their sole duty was to keep good reckoning by means of their *quipos*, as well of the origin and beginning of the Ingas in general as of each one in particular, from the day when he was born, and everything that occurred during the time of each of their chiefs. They were expected to give account and information about everything they were asked, to instruct their children in it and to keep them well informed and prepared, so that they would know the meaning of everything. To these men were given monthly rations for their sustenance, and of all kinds of food, and they were also furnished with women and servants, their sole occupation being to take care of their *quipos*, keeping them in order with the corresponding and truthful relation. Those that were brought before Vaca de Castro asked for time to prepare their *quipos*, which was granted, and they were kept apart from each other in order to see if they still agreed in their results and sayings. The supervision of this was given to parties of an inquisitive turn of mind, with Pedro Escalante as interpreter, an Indian versed in the Castilian tongue and also interpreter of Vaca de Castro, assisted by *Juan de Betanzos* [Italics are mine] and Francisco de Villacastin, residents of this city of Cuzco, persons who knew very well the general language of this kingdom, and who wrote down what was declared by means of the *quipos*."

This document contains no information concerning times anterior to Manco Capac except that the aborigines lived as scattered tribes with little regard to polity. Such is the usual way in which a

conquering tribe speaks of the conquered and its condition. The Island of Titicaca is nowhere mentioned ; the origin of Manco Capac is placed at Pacaritambo, he was the son of the sun, and came out of a window in the rock. (16)

Two of the *quipocamayos* made a separate statement to the effect that they were natives of Pacaritambo, and that their fore-fathers (also *quipocamayos*) had told them, enjoining absolute secrecy, that Manco Capac was the son of some chief of Pacaritambo who never knew his mother, for which reason his father always called him Child of the Sun. This the people at last took seriously, and his father, perceiving the advantage he might derive from it, and assisted by two medicine-men, improved it for extending the sway of his tribe. These two last-mentioned *quipocamayos* asserted further that, from the time of Manco Capac to the death of Huascar, four hundred and seventy-three years, of twelve lunar months each, had elapsed. (17)

We may ask, Why were only the first two *quipocamayos* regarded as genuine informants by Vaca de Castro and by those to whom he entrusted the investigation ? The other two, who were *natives* of Pacaritambo, hence best acquainted with the traditions of the place, deserve more credit, since the first two also acknowledge that Manco Capac had his origin there. A comparison of the joint deposition of the four, with the testimony given separately by the two from Pacaritambo, shows that the first was an official story formulated by the wizards (for the keepers of knotted strings were a branch of medicine-men) and repeated from generation to generation until accepted among the people. Such is the way whenever the truth for some reason or other is deemed unfit for general knowledge. The statements of the two from Pacaritambo contain that truth, hence the *Discurso* is most instructive for a critical sifting of Indian tradition ; it also shows that the story of Manco Capac has a basis of fact, since it became divested of mythical color as soon as told by those who really knew about it. (18)

The Island of Titicaca, as already stated, is not mentioned in the *Discurso*, neither in the joint nor in the separate testimony. Betanzos, however, who took such an active part in the investigation, mentions it in his book, he either having derived information about

it from sources foreign to the Inca tribe, or else (if the stories told Garcilasso de la Vega, and to which we shall soon come, are genuine) the connection of Titicaca island with Cuzco lore antedates the appearance of Manco Capac by a long period. The investigations made by direction of Vaca de Castro were for the special purpose of finding out about the Inca, and the Indians confined their replies to what they were asked. That the four old men said nothing of Titicaca is not absolute proof that the island was unknown to them or that it played no part in their recollection of historical events.

Another contemporary of Betanzos was the royal accountant Agustín de Zárate, who came to Peru in 1543 and published in 1555 a *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Perú*, basing what he says of the conquest on the testimony of eyewitnesses. From what source he obtained the data on ancient traditions is not stated, and this is the more to be regretted as they differ in several respects from the information imparted by all other chroniclers and historians. Zárate says :

"In all the provinces of Peru there were principal chiefs, called in their language *curacas*. . . . These chiefs kept their Indians at peace, and were their captains in the wars which they waged against their neighbors, without there being a chief for the whole until, from the direction of the Collao, from a great lagoon called Titicaca (which is there), that has eighty leagues in circumference, there came a very warlike people whom they called *Ingas*. These go with their hair cut short and their ears perforated, and with round pieces of gold in the holes that still more enlarge them. . . . They call themselves *Ringrim*, signifying ear. And the principal one of them they named *Zapalla Inga*, which is 'only chief,' although some claim that they called him *Viracocha Inga*. The latter is to say 'foam or grease of the sea,' for as they did not know from what land they came, they fancied he had originated in that lagoon. . . . These *Ingas* began to settle the city of Cuzco." (19)

Pedro Pizarro came to Peru with Francisco, his relative, took part in the conquest, and saw ancient Peruvian society in its pristine state, for he remained in the country and had excellent opportunities to learn. The brief notice in his *Relacion del Descubrimiento* about the Incas and their origin is not without interest: (20)

"These Indians say that an Inga was the first lord. Some say he came from the Island of Titicaca, which is an island in a lagoon of the Collao. . . . Other Indians claim that this first chief came forth at Tambo. This Tambo is in Condesuios, six leagues, more or less, from Cuzco."

These few words embody the substance of the statements of Betanzos and Cieza of Leon.

Cieza gives as one of the main sources from which he derived his information, ancient songs of the natives. (21) It might be asked, How could he, whose stay at Cuzco and in southern Peru was comparatively short, have obtained sufficient knowledge of Quichua to enable him to interpret such archaic lore? Hence it is very likely that what he has preserved is second-hand, in so far as that the lore was imparted to him by such of his countrymen as had become thoroughly acquainted with the language and with the native interpretations of traditions regarded as authentic.

But, about thirty years after the date of the sources above considered, there appeared an investigator of Inca lore whose opportunities were as good as those of Betanzos and superior to those enjoyed by Cieza. This author is Father Cristóval de Molina, who resided at Cuzco between the years 1570 and 1584 as parish priest of the hospital originally founded for the exclusive benefit of the natives and afterward converted into a municipal infirmary, regardless of race or color. Father Molina, in his treatise entitled *Relacion de las fábulas y ritos de los Yngas* (of which only the translation by Sir Clements R. Markham is now at my command), treats at length of the ancient lore of the Cuzco tribe. He says: (22)

"And first with regard to the origin of their idolatries, it is so that those people had no knowledge of writing. But in a house of the Sun called Poquen-Cancha, which is near Cuzco, they had the life of each one of the Yncas, with the land they conquered, painted with figures on certain boards, and also their origin. Among these paintings the following fable was represented:

"In the life of Manco Ccapac, who was the first Ynca and from whom they began to be called Children of the Sun and to worship the Sun, they had a full account of the deluge. They say that all people and all created things perished in it, in as far as the water rose above all the highest mountains in the world. No living things survived except a man

and a woman, who remained in a box, and when the waters subsided, the wind carried them to Huánaco, which will be over seventy leagues from Cuzco, a little more or less. The creator of all things commanded them to remain there as Mitimas, and there in Tiahuanaco the creator began to raise up the people and nations that are in that region, making one of each nation of clay and painting the dresses that each one was to wear, those that were to wear their hair, with hair, and those that were to be shorn, with their hair cut; and to each nation was given the language that was to be spoken, and the songs to be sung, and the seeds and food they were to sow. When the creator had finished painting and making the said nations and figures of clay, he gave life and soul to each one, men as well as women, and ordered that they pass under the earth. Thence each nation came forth up in the places to which he ordered them to go. Thus they say that some came out of caves, others issued from hills, others from fountains, others from the trunks of trees. From this cause, and owing to having come forth and commenced to multiply, from those places, and to having had the beginning of their lineage in them, they made *huacas* and places of worship of them in memory of the origin of their lineage which proceeded from them. Thus each nation uses the dress with which they invest their *huacas*, and they say that the first that was born from that place were there turned into stones; others say the first of their lineage were turned into falcons, condors, and other animals and birds. Hence the *huacas* they use and worship are in different shapes. . . .

“They say that the Creator was in Tiahuanaco and that there was his chief abode, hence the superb edifices — worthy of admiration, in that place. On these edifices were painted many dresses of Indians, and there were many stones in the shape of men and women who had been changed into those for not obeying the commands of the Creator. They say that it was dark, and that there he made the sun, the moon, and stars, and that he ordered the sun, moon, and stars to go to the Island of Titicaca, which is near at hand, and thence to rise to heaven. They also declare that when the sun in the form of a man was ascending into heaven, very brilliant, it called to the Incas and to Manco Ccapac as their chief, and said: ‘Thou and thy descendants are to be Lords and are to subjugate many nations. Look upon me as thy father and thou shalt be my children and thou shalt worship me as thy father.’ And with these words it gave to Manco Ccapac for his insignia and arms the *suntur paucar* and the *champi* and the other insignia that are used by the Incas like scepters. And at that point the sun and moon and stars were commanded to ascend to heaven and to fix themselves in their place, and they did so.

At the same instant Manco Ccapac and his brothers and sisters, by command of the Creator, descended under the earth and came out again at the cave of Paccari-Tambo, though they say that other nations also came out of the same cave, at the point where the sun rose on the first day, after the Creator had divided the night from the day. Thus it was that they were called Children of the Sun, and that the Sun was worshipped and revered as a father.

"They also have another fable in which they say the Creator had two sons, the one called Ymaymana Viracocha and the other Tocapo Viracocha. Having completed the tribes and nations and assigned dresses and languages to them, the Creator sent the sun up to heaven, with the moon and stars each in its place. The Creator, who in the language of the Indians is called Pachayachi and Tecsiviracocha, which means the incomprehensible God, then went by the road of the mountains from Tiahuanaco, visiting and beholding all the nations and determining how they had begun to multiply and how to comply with his commands. He found that some natives had rebelled and had not obeyed his commands; so he turned a large number of them into stones of the shape of men and women, with the same dress they had worn. These conversions into stone were made at the following places: Tiahuanaco, Pucara, and Xauxa, where they say he turned the *huaca* called *Huarivilca* into stone, and in Pachacamac, and Cajamarca, and in other parts. In truth there are great blocks of stone in those places, some of which are nearly the size of giants. They must have been made by human hands in very ancient times; and by reason of the loss of memory and the absence of writing, they invented this fable, saying that people had been turned into stones for their disobedience, by command of the Creator. They also relate that in Pucara, which is forty leagues from the city of Cuzco, on the Collao road, fire came down from heaven and destroyed a great part of the people, while those who were taking to flight were turned into stones.

"The Creator, who is said to be the father of Ymaymana Viracocha and Tocapo Viracocha, commanded that the elder Ymaymana Viracocha, in whose power all things were placed, should set out from the point and go by way of the mountains and forests through all the land, giving names to the large and small trees and to the flowers and fruits that they bear, and teaching the people which ones were good for food or for medicine and which should be avoided. He also gave names to all the herbs and explained which had healing virtues and which were poisonous. The other son, Tocapo Viracocha, which means in their language 'the maker,'

was ordered to go by way of the plains, visiting the people and giving names to the rivers and trees, and instructions respecting the fruits and flowers. Thus they went on until they reached the sea, whence they ascended to heaven, after having accomplished all they had to do in this world."

The deep impression rapidly made by biblical tales on the imagination of the Indians, through teachings of the Catholic church, is perceptible in many of the traditions reported by Molina. They do not, in the main, conflict with those of Betanzos, but they are more detailed and contain additions made since the advent of the Spaniards. A comparison of the material gathered by Molina with the declaration of the wizards from Pacaritambo in 1542 again shows that the former repeated an "official" story, not authentic recollections preserved by "keepers of the faith."

That which is of direct importance in our investigations lies in the tale about Manco Capac and the Island of Titicaca. According to Molina the former was created either at Tiahuanaco or on the island,—at all events at some place in or near the lake,—and was sent from there to Cuzco so as to appear at Pacaritambo through some miracle. It is also proper to call attention to the statement: "though they say that other nations also came out of the same cave, at the *point where the sun rose on the first day, after the creator had divided the night from the day.*" I italicize these words since they indicate a belief that not the Inca alone originated on Titicaca island.

Garcilasso de la Vega was born at Cuzco and has the right of calling himself an Inca, since, while his father was a Spaniard, his mother was an Inca girl. He lived at Cuzco until 1560, when he went to Spain. Garcilasso was twenty years of age when he left Peru, until which time he had been in constant and close contact with his mother's Indian relatives. Of the sources from which he gathered his knowledge he speaks as follows:

"It struck me that the best plan and way was to relate what, in my childhood, I heard many times from my mother, and from her sisters and uncles, and from other and elder people, about their origin and beginning. . . . My mother residing in Cuzco, her home, there came to visit her nearly every week the few relatives, male and female, who had sur-

vived the cruelty of Atahuallpa. During these visits their usual conversation was about the origin of their kings, of their supremacy, of the greatness of their empire, of their conquests and great deeds in governing, in war as well as in the laws which they made, so beneficial to their vassals."

One old man in particular gave him much information :

" During these discourses, I, who was a boy, often ran in and out, amusing myself with fragments of the story, as children do with the tales of nurses. In this manner, days and months and years passed until I had come to be sixteen or seventeen years of age. Being one day present with my kindred, who were discoursing of their kings and ancestors, it came into my mind to ask the most elderly person amongst them, and interrupted his discourse in this manner: 'Inca,' said I, 'and my uncle, how is it possible, since you have no writings, that you have been able to preserve the memory of things past, and of the original of our kings?'"

This aged Indian, whom he thus addressed and who afterward became his chief informant, made the following statement in regard to the origin of the Inca :

" You must know, therefore, that in ages past all this region and country you see around us was nothing but mountains and wild forests, and the people in those times were like so many beasts, without religion or government: they neither sowed, nor ploughed, nor clothed themselves, because they knew not the art of weaving with cotton or with wool. . . . In short, they were altogether savage, making use of such of their women as they accidentally met, understanding no propriety, or single enjoyment of it.

" Our Father the Sun, beholding men such as before related, took compassion on them, and sent a son and a daughter of his own from heaven to earth to instruct our people in the knowledge of Our Father the Sun, that they might worship and adore him and esteem him for their God, giving them laws and precepts whereunto they might conform their lives, like men of reason and civility. . . . With these orders and instructions Our Father the Sun placed his two children in Lake Titicaca, which is about eighty leagues hence, giving them liberty to go to and travel wherever they pleased; and in whatsoever place they stayed to eat or sleep, they should strike into the ground a little wedge of gold which he had given them, being about half a yard long, and two fingers thick, and where with one stroke this wedge would sink into the earth, there should be the place of their habitation and the court unto which all people should

resort. . . . Thus Our Father the Sun, having declared his pleasure to these, his two children, he despatched them from him, and taking their journey from Titicaca northward, at every place where they came to repose they tried to strike their wedge into the ground, but it took no place, nor would it enter. At length they came to a poor inn, or place wherein to rest, about seven or eight leagues southward from this city, which to this day is called Pacarec Tampu, which is as much as to say, "The Shining or Illuminated Dormitory." This is one of those colonies which the Prince planted, the inhabitants whereof boast of this name and title which our Inca bestowed upon it; whence he and his queen descended to the valley of Cozco, which was then only a wild and barren mountain. . . .

"This was the relation made to me by this Inca, brother of my mother, concerning the origin of the kings of this country. I afterward tried to translate it faithfully from my mother-tongue, which is the Inca, into Spanish." (23)

Garcilasso does not confine himself to Inca folklore, but relates traditions of other Peruvian tribes :

"Having to report the most current opinions touching the origin of the Inca kings, I will say that most of the people of Peru, that is the Indians from south of Cozco, what they call Collasuyu, and those in the west, called Cuntisuyu, tell about it a very pleasing fable. In order to make it more authoritative through time [antiquity], they say it happened after the deluge, of which they know nothing beyond that it really took place. . . . Thus they say that after the waters of the deluge had subsided, a certain man appeared in the country of Tiahuanacu, which is to the south of Cuzco; this man was so powerful that he divided the world into four parts, and gave them to four men whom he honored each with the title of king, the first of which was called Manco Capac, the second Colla, the third Tocay, and the fourth Pinahua. To this they add that he gave the northern part to Manco Capac, that of the south to Colla (after whom that great province has ever since been called), to Tocay that in the east, and to Pinahua that of the west. They further assert that, after having thus favored them, he sent each one to the land pertaining to him, to conquer and govern all the people there found.

"The Indians who live east and north of the town of Cuzco report another origin of the Incas, similar to the preceding. For they say that in the beginning of the world four men and four women, who were brothers and sisters, came out of the windows in certain rocks that are near the city, in a place called Paucartampu. These windows, they add,

were three in number, and only the one in the middle served for the sally of these people. Indeed it was afterward called the Royal Window, and for that reason was covered on all sides with large plates of gold, with a great quantity of precious stones inserted. The windows on both sides were also garnished with gold, but without jewels. The first of these brothers is called by them Manco Capac, and his wife Mama Ocllo. They believe that this one was the founder of this town." (24)

These tales, not being of direct Inca origin, Garcilasso treats as silly fables. It is readily observed that they are the same as some of those given by Betanzos and Cieza. Taking into consideration that Garcilasso was very young when he heard the aged Inca relate his version of the origin of the tribe, it appears likely that the old man adapted his story to the age of the listener. An Indian of experience will never disclose such matters in their real aspect to younger men, unless their discretion should have stood an exceptionally severe test.

While disparaging the merits of traditional tales of extra-Incan tribes, Garcilasso acknowledges their genuineness, thus supporting Betanzos and Cieza. He began to pay attention to talk about the past of his mother's tribe not ten years after his two predecessors had concluded their manuscripts, hence his information dates from the same period as theirs, as well as from that of the depositions collected by direction of Vaca de Castro in 1542.

But Garcilasso acknowledges that much of his knowledge was derived from other sources. The writings of Father Blas Valera, partly destroyed at the capture of Cadiz by the English, are quoted by him (25), and he also mentions the *quipus* as useful to a certain extent, for he claims to have been able to interpret them.

Although a digression, I cannot refrain from quoting here what Garcilasso says of these knotted strings, since a statement from him has the double merit of coming from one strongly inclined to enhance the achievements of the aborigines, and who at the same time was practically familiar (or at least claimed to be) with the manipulation of the *quipus*:

"In a word, in these knots were embraced all things that could be computed by numbers, as far as to note the number of battles and encounters, of the embassies on the part of the Inca and the declaration the

king had given. But by these knots it was not possible to express the contents of the message, the express words of the declarations, and such other historic events, for these things consisted of terms uttered in speech or in writing, and the knots marked indeed the number but not the word. To remedy this defect they had also certain signs by which they recognized memorable actions, embassies, and declarations made in times of peace or war; the *quipucamayus* learned their substance by heart and taught them one to another by tradition. . . .”

He then mentions the *Amautas* and *Aravicus*, Indians who wove folklore into popular tales, giving them “a fabulous and allegorical” meaning; and continues :

“ Nevertheless, all these things, as experience shows it, could serve only for a time in order to cause their exploits to be spoken of, since great deeds can be immortalized only by means of letters; but as the Incas had no knowledge of them, they used in their stead all they could invent that was most appropriate to their object.

“ The Indians looked upon these things as sacred. As they had no knowledge of letters, they did all they could to prevent them from escaping their memory, for any Indian who had not learned by tradition their accounts or their histories, found himself as ignorant as a Spaniard or any other stranger. I had occasion, in my youth, to become learned in the art of managing these knots. When the Indians, my father’s subjects, and the other *curacas* came to town on Saint John’s day to pay their tribute, they begged my mother to command me to revise their *quipus*, for, being of a suspicious nature, they did not like the Spaniards to handle them; the which I did with pleasure, collating them with their knots to see that they conformed with the tribute they brought, so that by dint of handling them I became as proficient as they themselves.” (26)

This statement, from such a source, shows conclusively what little justification there was for basing authentic lore on the knotted strings.

Garcilasso acknowledges still another source — a series of writings and paintings, sent to him while in Spain with a letter dated April 16, 1603, and written for some descendants of the Inca tribe for the purpose of obtaining special favors from the crown. The paintings represented the past of the Inca tribe from the time of Manco Capac, with pictorial representations of costumes and with genealogical tables. Garcilasso does not say whether in these paint-

ings reference is found to Titicaca island. He does not appear to place great stress on these sources, or else they only repeated his own statements. He also says that, after reaching Spain, he remained in correspondence with his schoolmates at Cuzco, who furnished him a number of traditions, mostly on events of a later date. (27) In regard of the Island of Titicaca the following statement by Garcilasso should not pass without notice :

"What we have said about the Inca coming out of a marsh called Titicaca is confirmed by Francisco Lopez de Gomara. [Here follow quotations from the works of Zárate and Acosta.] It can be seen that what I have said of it is not new, and that I have but expanded the relations given of it by the Spaniards. In my capacity as a native Indian I must know better the genius of my language, and I have so to say, drank the truth, as well as the fables, which I relate." (28)

At the time Father Cristóval Molina began his ecclesiastical career at Cuzco, in 1570-72, the Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, instituted an official inquiry into the antiquities of the Cuzco Indians, after the manner of that made by Vaca de Castro in 1542. (29) For the purpose of illustrating their statements, the Indians painted, on a number of pieces of cloth, representations of events and customs of bygone days. A large number of witnesses were examined, not only from Cuzco, but of other tribes, and they agreed that Cuzco was already settled when Manco Capac (who is generally, though not always, designated as the first Inca) made his appearance there. (30) No direct mention is made of Titicaca island, but one of the witnesses, a man of note among the coast Indians and those of Cañar and Chachapoyas, said that Manco Capac had come out of a Rock of Lead. In the Quichua language *Titi* means "lead," or "tin," and one of the definitions of the word *Titicaca* is based on this utterly groundless etymology. (31)

Referring to the four paintings on cloth illustrating ancient history of the Inca, it is said that on the first were painted the legends concerning events that occurred at Tambotocco and the "fables of the creations of Viracocha." These four paintings on cloth recall those on boards which are said by Molina to have existed in an old shrine of "the sun" near Cuzco. If it should be ascertained that both were the same, it would impair the value of that which Molina

bases thereon. The paintings "on cloth" may have been copies of those on boards. It is singular that none of the other sources, anterior, contemporaneous, or subsequent, mentions the painted boards, and it should also be noted that the investigation ordered by Toledo coincides in date with the beginning of Molina's ecclesiastical career at Cuzco.

Miguel Cabello Balboa came to Peru in 1566 and finished his *Miscelánea austral* at Lima twenty years later. He places the origin of the Inca at Pacari Tampu, identifying the site with Tambo Tocco; but he adds: "Many Indians pretend that the brothers who appeared at Pacari Tambo . . . were natives of Titicaca, and that in that place were manufactured the garments in which they showed themselves for the first time." He explains the first appearance of Manco Capac and his relatives, all in garments bright with silver and gold — a cunning artifice for bringing the natives of Cuzco to peaceable submission. According to him the little band of adventurers traveled at night and hid in the day time, presenting themselves unexpectedly a short distance from Cuzco, arrayed in gorgeous vestments. (32)

The Jesuit Joseph de Acosta resided in Peru from 1569 to 1585. (33) His book, less prolix than is usual for the time, is of great value. He mentions the investigations instituted by Toledo and by the order of the King of Spain (34), and it is therefore possible that what he attributes to Indian sources may have been derived from depositions then obtained. But he discriminates between the traditions of the Peruvian Indians in general and those of the Inca in particular:

"However it may be, the Indians say that, with this their deluge, people were all drowned, and they relate that from the great lagoon of Titicaca there came out one Viracocha, who made his abode at Tiaguánaco, where today are seen ruins and parts of ancient and very strange edifices, and that from there they came to Cuzco, and so the human family began to multiply. They point out in that lagoon an islet where they fable that the Sun concealed and maintained itself, and for this reason they anciently made to it there many sacrifices, not only of sheep, but of men. Others say that out of a certain cave, through the window, there came six or I do not know how many men, and that these made the beginning of the propagation of mankind, and this was at what for

that reason they call Pacari Tambo. So they are of opinion that the Tambos are the oldest lineage of mankind. From there, they say, proceeded Mangocapa, whom they recognize as the founder and head of the Ingas. . . . What learned men assert and write is, that whatever there is of memories and relations of these Indians, goes back to four hundred years. . . ." (35)

Elsewhere Acosta states :

"The first man the Indians mention as the beginning of the Incas was Mangocapa, and of him they fable that, after the deluge, he came out of a cave or window of Tambo, which is five or six leagues from Cuzco." (36)

The Dominican Gregorio García, who spent a number of years in Peru, copies Betanzos almost literally. (37)

Among those authors from the sixteenth century who (aside from Oviedo, who has already been spoken of), while not having visited South America, deserve to be mentioned, Francisco Lopez de Gomára, Levinus Apollonius, and Antonio de Herrera are the most prominent.

Gomara was a contemporary of Betanzos, Cieza, and Zárate; his *Crónica*, which appeared in print in 1552, was not received favorably by the Spanish government (38); indeed, his statements concerning Spanish America were severely impeached, but the incriminations address themselves mostly to what he wrote concerning events of the conquest. About the Inca, Gomára states :

"Their origin was from Tiquicaca, which is a lagoon in the Collao, forty leagues from Cuzco, the name of which signifies *Island of Lead*, for of many islets that are inhabited, one or the other contains lead, which is called *tiqui*. It is eighty leagues in circumference, and receives ten or twelve large rivers and many brooks. These are emptied through a single river, but large and deep, that terminates in another lagoon, forty leagues toward the east, where it loses itself, not without causing admiration to him who sees it. The principal Inca who took away from Tiquicaca the first ones and led them was named Zapalla, signifying *only chief*. Some aged Indians also say that he was called Vira-cocha, which is to say *grease of the sea*, and that he brought his people by sea. They finally affirm that Zapalla peopled and settled Cuzco, whence the Incas began to make war upon the surroundings. . . ." (39)

It is singular that Gomára, whose book appeared in print three

years before that of Zárate, makes the same statements regarding Titicaca as the latter; and it is also strange that this version about Zapalla (and the name itself) is not repeated by any other writer, Levinus Apollonius excepted. The latter may have copied Zárate (40), but Gomára not, unless he had access to his manuscripts, of which he makes no mention. It seems impossible that Gomára obtained the tale of the "Inca Zapalla" from Betanzos. It might be that the name is a corruption of Zapana, a chief of the Collao, of whom Cieza de León speaks; but this is rendered doubtful by the fact that Cieza's first part of the *Crónica* appeared in the same year as Gomára's work.

Herrera (41), who was royal chronicler for the Indies and a critic of rare sagacity for his time, finished his History at the close of the sixteenth century. As far as possible he avoided relying on isolated statements, however interesting they might appear, and thus omitted more than one which, after his time, turned out to be true. (42) In regard to Titicaca and the traditions concerning it, he has evidently relied on the writings of Cieza, at least in part; but he must have had at his command other confirmatory documents.

Herrera affirms that the Cuzco Indians claimed that the first men emerged from Lake Titicaca. He states:

"They also say that in the islands of Titicaca, in the Collao, were men with beards, and white; and that a captain coming from the valley of Coquimbo, and called Cara, came to Chuquito and passed to the island and killed the bearded people. . . . The Indians also say, from what they have by tradition from their forefathers, and from the songs, it appears, that in the days of antiquity they were a long time without seeing the sun, and that in consequence of great vows and rogations to their Gods, the Sun came out of the Lagoon of Titicaca and the island which is in it, that is in the Collao, and that, forthwith, from the part of mid-day, appeared a white man. . . ." (43)

The influence of Cieza is plain. Of Manco Capac he says that he first appeared at Pacaritambo. (44)

To the same class of writers as Gomára, Apollonius, and Herrera, belongs Fray Hierónymo Roman. In his *Repúlicas del Mundo*, 1595, he evidently follows Betanzos and Cieza (45), laying

much stress on ancient Indian songs as the most reliable source of authentic tradition.

In the seventeenth century, aside from investigations carried on officially through the agency of such Jesuits as Father Pablo Josef Arriaga (46), Father Terhuel (47), Francisco Dávila (48), and of Archbishop Villagomez (49), which more directly concerned the coast tribes and those of the Peruvian highlands outside of Cuzco, we meet with the works of three Augustine monks, two Jesuits, and one Indian writer from the vicinity of Cuzco. There may be others, but I have no knowledge of them. As to the annalist Montesinos (50), and Rocha, the imitator of Gregorio García (51), they are not of much importance. Montesinos certainly gathered a number of Indian tales, but he unfortunately manipulated them in the promotion of a pet theory.

The Jesuit Anello Oliva is not the oldest, in point of date, of the authors mentioned; but I prefer to dispose of him first, since he acknowledges one of his main sources to have been fragments of the writings of Father Blas Valera, also used by Garcilasso de la Vega. In addition to Valera, Oliva consulted manuscripts of a certain Doctor of Theology, Bartolomé Cervantes, and an Indian from Cochabamba in central Bolivia whom he designates as a "descendant of the chroniclers of the Incas," proficient in the Quichua language and versed in ancient lore. Oliva attributes too much importance to the *quipus*, for we have seen from the statements of Garcilasso himself how slender is the hold they afford. If, not thirty years after the conquest, tradition (that alone enabled their interpretation as far as interpretation could go) was already dim, how much more diffuse must it have been a century later. Besides, Oliva's Indian informant, Catári, lived far away from Cuzco, and his name indicates that he was an Aymará (probably versed in the Quichua language, but still an Aymará) and not of Inca blood. His information, therefore, cannot have been original. Cochabamba was never overrun by the Cuzco tribe; its aborigines were Quichua-speaking Indians, but they were separated from the Inca by a wide zone of Aymará who had mostly remained absolutely independent. From these sources Oliva (52) has framed the following story:

"After the Deluge, the first people came to South America from parts unknown, landing somewhere on the coast of Venezuela. From there they gradually scattered over the whole continent, one band reaching the coast of Ecuador near Santa Elena. Several generations passed, many made voyages along the coast and some were shipwrecked. At last one branch took up its abode on an island called Guayau, near the shores of Ecuador. On that island Manco Capac was born, and after the death of his father Atau, he resolved to leave his native place for a more favored clime. So he set out, in such craft as he had, with two hundred of his people, dividing them into three bands. Two of these were never heard from again, but he and his followers landed near Ica, on the Peruvian coast, thence struggled up the mountains, reaching at last the shore of Lake Titicaca. There Manco separated from the others, leaving them with orders to divide after a certain time and to go in search of him, while he took the direction of Cuzco. He told his people, before leaving, that when any of the natives should ask them their purpose and destination, to reply that they were in quest of the son of the Sun. After this he departed, reaching at last a cave near the Cuzco valley, where he rested.

"When the time had elapsed, his companions started in several groups in search of him. One of these crossed over to the Island of Titicaca, where they were surprised to find a rock, and in this rock a cave lined with gold, silver, and precious stones. Thereupon they sunk the craft in which they had reached the island, and agreed among themselves, if anybody from the surrounding country should appear, to say that they had come out of the cave to look for the son of the Sun.

"A few days after, on the day of the full moon, they saw some canoes approaching, and they forthwith retreated to the cavern. Those who came in the canoes, when they approached the cliff and perceived the strangers viewing the cave apparently with the greatest unconcern, were surprised. The strangers gave them to understand that they had just come out of the rock and were in quest of the son of the Sun. This filled the others with profound respect for the newcomers; they worshipped them and made offerings to the rock, sacrificing children, llamas, and ducks. All together went back to the mainland, and shortly afterward learned that at Pacari Tampu the son of the Sun had come out of a cavern, called Capacocco, in great splendor, bedecked with gold, as brilliant in appearance as his father, and that with a sling he had hurled a stone with such force that the noise was heard for more than a league off, and the stone made in the rock a hole as large as a doorway.

"At this news all the people of those regions went to see the miracu-

lous being. Manco Capac received them as subjects. On this artifice he began to base his authority and the subsequent sway of the Inca tribe." (53)

Oliva mentions a tradition concerning Tiahuanaco according to which that place would be the oldest settlement in the land. He says that the original name for Tiahuanaco is Chucara and that nothing is known of its earliest history beyond that "there lived the great chief Huyustus, who, they say, was lord of the world." This was long previous to the time of Manco Capac. (54)

A certain degree of authentic tradition is discernible in Oliva's statements, but it is plain that these traditions were not obtained at first hand and that they had already been tinged by time and distance from the theater of events; moreover, Oliva arranged them to suit himself. A remote connection between Titicaca and its rock, and the first establishment of the Inca at Cuzco are indicated, but this does not signify an insular origin of the Inca. That origin is placed on an island, but on the coast of Ecuador, with hints at extra-American descent. This connection with the question of the first peopling of America makes it evident that Oliva stated the case in a subjective rather than in an objective manner like Betanzos, Cieza, and the Indian informants from Pacaritambo in 1542.

Father Bernabé Cobo, a contemporary of Oliva and also a Jesuit, is more objective than the latter. He begins with Tiahuanaco, affirming that its real name was Taypi Kala (signifying in Aymará *middle* or *central stone*), and that from Tiahuanaco departed those who, after the deluge, repeopled the earth. Of Titicaca he states, in agreement with Cieza :

"The adoratory of the Sun on the Island of Titicaca was a large and solid cliff, the worship of which (and the reason why they consecrated it to the sun) has its origin in a ridiculous tale which is: The ancient affirm that having been without light from heaven for many days in that province, and all the inhabitants being in admiration, confusion, and awe, about this protracted obscurity and darkness, those who dwelt on the aforesaid Island of Titicaca saw one morning the sun come out of that rock with great splendor, from which they gathered that the rock was the house and home of the Sun, or the one thing which it most esteemed in the world; and so they dedicated it to the Sun and erected there a

sumptuous temple, for those times, although not so splendid as it became after the Incas enlarged and embellished it.

"Others relate this fable differently and say: The reason why this rock had been dedicated to the sun was because the sun was concealed under it and preserved during all the time covered by the deluge. When it was over, the sun came forth from it and began to illuminate the world in those parts, that rock being the first object which enjoyed its light. Whatever may have been the beginning and origin of this shrine, it was of great antiquity, and was always much revered by the people of the Collao before they were subjugated by the Incas." (55)

He then goes on to state that the report of the existence of the shrine came to the ears of Tupac Yupanqui, who determined to visit it. "He went to the Island of Titicaca and found the altar and temple dedicated to its gods," so he resolved to enhance its appearance. It is seen that Cobo attached some importance to the existence of the shrine at a period long prior to the Inca. What he says might be construed to mean that the existence of the shrine was unknown at Cuzco until then. (56) When Cobo and Oliva were in Peru, the Jesuits had under their spiritual care that part of the lake shore northwest of Copacavana, also inhabited by Aymará. They were, on that side, the nearest neighbors of the Augustines, who therefore had quite as fair an opportunity of becoming intimate with the Indians as had the Jesuits. On the other hand, the Augustines, having in charge the territory formerly occupied by the Inca, both on lake and mainland, held under their control the Aymará of those parts as well as the small Inca colony. To a certain extent they were more favorably situated than the Jesuits, but the Indian seldom, if ever, reveals to his confessor the things of the past, for they belong to his ancient creed and have nothing to do with the practices of another. Furthermore, at that time stringent measures were taken to eliminate aboriginal rites from the natives of Peru. It is true that the Jesuits were specially charged with this task, which made the Indians more suspicious of them; but where, as in the case of Copacavana and the island, they could not exercise jurisdiction, they were more lenient, hence the natives could talk more freely to them than to their official confessors at Copacavana. It is therefore possible that Cobo (who personally was a gifted investigator) obtained data even from people who knew ancient

lore which they would not divulge to the Augustines to whose parish they pertained. (57)

The Augustine monk Fray Alonso Ramos appears as a cornerstone of the information preserved by writers of his order from the seventeenth century. (58) Were it the object of this investigation to trace the origin of the Inca, the version given of it by Ramos would find its place here. It is a highly interesting confirmation of the story told by the two shamans from Pacaritambo in 1542, but in it not a word is said of Titicaca. Manco Capac is represented as the child of a medicine-man from Pacaritambo. (59) In another chapter his editor, Father Rafael Sans, mentions a popular belief in the descent of Manco Capac from Titicaca, tracing the visit of Tupac Yupanqui to the island to a notice given him of its shrine by an attendant thereof who went to Cuzco for the purpose. (60) Ramos also speaks of a mysterious white man, called Tunupa and Taapac, murdered by the Indians on Titicaca island, who impaled him on a stake of *chonta*-wood (*Bactris ciliata*). The shrine was in existence even at the very remote period at which this is said to have occurred. (61) Mention is made of the belief that, after several days of obscurity, the Sun came out from the sacred rock, and this is given as the cause of the cult afterward addressed to that cliff. (62) It is observed that Ramos agrees with Cobo in regard to the manner in which Titicaca was brought to the notice of Tupac Yupanqui. They were not only contemporaries, but neighbors for several years, hence it is not possible to determine whether their information was independently obtained, whether one copied the other, or whether the statement is an interpretation.

The Augustine Fray Antonio de la Calancha was also an inmate of the Copacavana convent and a contemporary of Ramos, whom he copies extensively. (63) In addition, he quotes the Licentiate Polo de Ondegardo, former *corregidor* of the city of Cuzco under the viceroy Toledo, and a zealous student of Indian antiquities. According to Calancha the investigations of Ondegardo were carried on "in all the country above Chuquiago [La Paz], Chuquisaca [Sucre], Potosi, and their surroundings, where the Licentiate Polo made his inquiries, and in that of Chucuito." (64) Under the supposition that he limited himself to those points, his Aymará traditions

would have come from northern Bolivia and southeastern Peru, and those of the Quichua from central Bolivia. But it is more than likely, in view of his position at Cuzco when Toledo made the official inquiries after 1570, that he also embodied lore from the Inca and their immediate neighbors. Calancha says that, according to what Ondegardo gathered, the first men lived in obscurity and were nearly all destroyed by a flood, but they multiplied again and the builders of Tiahuanaco were turned into stone; after which, at Tiahuanaco and on Lake Titicaca, the sun and moon appeared. "The sun at once went to the Indian Mango Capac, adopted him, made him king, . . . and then rose into the heavens." As his own opinion Calancha states that "the Indian Manco Capac, first king of Peru, was a native of Tiahuanaco, or of some village near it." (65)

There are several other Augustine writers of that period, among them Father Hippolyto Maracci (66); but their information may be regarded as condensed in the book of Fray Andrés de San Nicolás, for many years an inmate of Copacavana convent. (67) He is based largely on Ramos and Calancha, and admits that "the foundation which the Indians had in worshiping the island and the rock . . . was because on it the family of the Incas had their fabulous origin." (68) He then suggests an explanation of these fables, copying Ramos, but with the difference that he looks upon Manco Capac as the son of a chief of the lake region, hence as an Aymará, not a Quichua Indian. The farther we recede from the epoch of first contact of Europeans with the natives, the more and more does the objective rendering of traditions give way to opinions and explanations.

In the writings of the Quichua Indian Juan de Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, from the middle of the seventeenth century, we might expect to find untainted lore. (69) He tells us that the peopling of that part of South America took place from the southeast, from "above Potosí." After the country was settled, there came to the Collao a bearded man whom he calls Tonapa, also Viracocha Pachayachachican, who performed miracles and whom Salcamayhua therefore identifies with Saint Thomas the apostle. He describes the wanderings of this personage and his tribulations among the barbarous natives around Lake Titicaca, and concludes by stating

that "they say that the said Tonapa, after having liberated himself from the hands of those barbarians, remained some time on a rock called Titicaca," and that afterward he passed through Tiquina toward Chacamarca, and on his way came to a village called Tiahuanaco, where the people ridiculed his teachings. In punishment he changed them into stones. From Chacamarca he followed the Desaguadero to the south, finally reaching the ocean, where he disappeared. While in the Collao, Tonapa met a chief called Apotampo, who was the only one who gave ear to his teachings, in consideration of which Tonapa gave him "a piece of wood from his walking-stick." (70) This Apotampo was father to Manco Capac, to whom Salcamayhua also attributes the foundation of Cuzco, which place was then already occupied by Indians, so that by "foundation" the establishment of a regular settlement must be understood.

The analogy of these tales with those reported by Betanzos and Cieza is apparent, and the story of the "walking-stick," of which Tonapa gave a piece to Apotampo, recalls the magic wand spoken of by Garcilasso de la Vega. The traditions recorded by Salcamayhua are, therefore, probably authentic, minus such changes and additions which a century of intercourse with Europeans may have introduced. These changes occur with versions circulating outside of intimate circles of medicine-men and also with those preserved by shamans not especially entrusted with the keeping of ancient lore. The keepers of the faith are quite inaccessible to inquiry, and how much their knowledge may differ from current talk we have seen in the instance of the wizards from Pacaritambo in 1542. It does not appear that Salcamayhua belonged to the "knowing ones," who were closely watched at that time and even persecuted, for they were and still are those who, as it is said among the Aymará and the lower classes of the people in Bolivia, "know it all."

The testimony of the traditions which we have repeated here is to the effect that at a very remote period there existed some relation between the Island of Titicaca and natural phenomena of such importance as to leave a lasting impression on the memory of the aborigines; but the nature of these phenomena can only be conjectured. (71) In connection with extraordinary occurrences in nature it is sometimes mentioned that the Inca had their origin on Titicaca

island. It is not impossible that at a very remote period some intercourse may have existed between the island and the Cuzco valley. Folktales concerning that region of South America seem to indicate that tribal shiftings were in the main directed to the northward. These shiftings took place irregularly and covered a long period of time. (72) In the course of such changes Titicaca island, for some reason not yet ascertained, has secured a foothold in the myths and traditions of the people.

NOTES

1. The "Viracochas" here mentioned recall the "white and bearded men" of Cieza de León. See farther on.
2. Compare my article on "The Montezuma of the Pueblo Indians," *American Anthropologist*, October, 1892, p. 325; also Archaeological Institute of America, *Final Report*, vols. I and II.
3. Especially at the pueblo of Cochiti, New Mexico, where my deceased host, Juan José Montoya, was very fond of displaying a smattering of classical history, gathered at random in conversation with the priests. It would carry me entirely too far to refer in detail to the innumerable sermons, printed in the Quichua language, in which references to Greek and Roman history are made.
4. At Copacavana intercourse between the clergy and the aborigines was intimate in the sixteenth century, and many Indians could read and write. Perhaps one of the oldest documents of that kind from Peru is the statement, in writing, made by Francisco Tito Yupanqui, the Indian from Copacavana who carved the image of the Virgin now venerated at the Sanctuary. This document is from the latter part of the sixteenth century and undoubtedly genuine. See Ramos, *Historia*, p. 132 et seq.
5. *Historia general y natural* (vol. IV, lib. XLVI, p. 225): "Á esta tierra vino antiguamente un grand señor con una gente que llaman *Inga* é agora se llaman orejones, é solo al superior le llaman *Inga*. . . . Este señor que llaman *Inga* pobló el Cuzco, é hijo una cibdad muy fuerte para residir él." . . . He is also the first to give the name or title of Capac Inca, applying it to the head war-chief. (Idem.)
6. Most of the original manuscripts of Betanzos from that time are in the national archives at Lima, Peru. Among them is also the *Doctrina Cristiana* in Quichua, showing that he was thoroughly versed in that idiom.
7. *Suma y Narracion de los Incas* (cap. I): "En los tiempos antiguos, dicen ser la tierra é provincia del Peru escura, y que en ella no habia lumbre ni dia. Que habia en este tiempo cierta gente en ella la cual gente tenia cierto señor que la mandaba y á quien ella era subjeta. Del nombre desta gente ó del señor que la mandaba no se acuerdan. Y en estos tiempos que esta tierra era toda noche, dicen que salió de una

laguna que es en esta tierra del Peru en la provincia que dicen de Colla-suyo, un señor que llamaron Con Tici Viracocha, el cual dicen haber sacado consigo cierto número de gentes, del cual número no se acuerdan. Y como hubiese éste salido desta laguna, fuese de alli á un sitio ques junto á esta laguna questá donde hoy dia es un pueblo que llaman Tiaguanaco, en esta provincia ya dicha del Collao ; y como alli fuese él y los suyos, luego alli en improviso dicen que hizo el sol y el dia, y que al sol mandó que anduviese por el curso que anda ; y luego dicen que hizo las estrellas y la luna. El cual Con Tici Viracocha dicen haber salido otra vez antes de aquella, y que en esta primera vez que salió, hizo el cielo y la tierra, y que todo lo dejó escuro ; y que entonces hizo aquella gente que habia en el tiempo de la escuridad ya dicha ; que esta gente le hizo cierto deservicio á este Viracocha, y come dello estuviese enojado, tornó esta vez postrera y salió como antes habia hecho, y á aquella gente primera y á su señor, en castigo del enojo que le hicieron, hizolos que se tornasen piedra luego.

“ Asi como salió y en aquella misma hora, como ya hemos dicho, dicen que hizo el sol y dia, y luna y estrellas ; y que esto hecho, que en aquel asiento de Tiaguanaco, hizo de piedra cierta gente y manera de dechado de la gente que despues habia de producir haciendolo en esta manera : Que hizo de piedra cierto número de gente y un principal que la gobernaba y señoreaba y muchas mujeres preñadas y otras paridas y que los niños tenian en cunas, segun su uso ; todo lo cual ansi hecho de piedra que lo apartaba á cierta parte ; y que él luego hizo otra provincia alli en Tiaguanaco, formándolos de piedras en la manera ya dicha, y como los hobiese acabado de hacer mandó á toda su gente que se partieesen todos los que él alli consigo tenia, dejando solos dos en su compañía, á los cuales dijo que mirasen aquellos bultos y los nombres que les habia dado á cada género de aquellos, señalandoles y diciendoles ; estos se llamarán los tales y saldrán de tal fuente en tal provincia, y poblarán en ella, y alli serán aumentados ; y estos saldrán de tal cueva, y se nombrarán los fulanos, y poblarán en tal parte, y ansi como yo aqui los tengo pintados y hechos de piedras, y ansi han de salir de las fuentes y ríos, y cuevas y cerros, en las provincias que ansi os hé dicho y nombrado ; é ireis luego todos vosotros por esta parte (señalandoles hacia donde el sol sale), dividiéndoles á cada uno por sí y señalandoles el derecho que debia de llevar.” The *Huaca* or *Achachila* cult is not infrequently stated to have originated in this creation myth. Sources that do not mention the legend of Viracocha still relate the Indian belief in descent of man from springs, rivers, rocks, and other natural objects.

Idem (cap. II) : “ É ansi se partieron estos viracochas que habeis oido, los cuales iban por las provincias que les habia dicho Viracocha, llamando en cada provincia, ansi como llegaban cada uno de ellos, por la parte que iban á la tal provincia, los que el Viracocha en Tiaguanaco les señaló de piedra que en la tal provincia habian de salir ; poniendose cada uno destos viracochas alli junto al sitio dó les era dicho que la tal gente de alli habia de salir ; y siendo ansi, alli este Viracocha decia en alta voz : ‘ Fulano, salid é poblad esta tierra que está desierta, porque ansi lo mandó

el Con Tici Viracocha, que hizo el mundo ! ' — Y como estos ansi los llamasen, luego salian las tales gentes de aquellas partes y lugares que ansi les era dicho por el Viracocha. Y ansi dicen que iban estos llamando y sacando las gentes de las cuevas, ríos y fuentes é altas sierras, como ya en el capítulo antes deste habeis oido, y poblando la tierra hacia la parte dó el sol sale.' I forego quoting the complete text of chapters II, III, and IV.

8. *Suma y Narracion* (cap. IV, p. 14) : "Y volviéndose estos indios que esto hicieron ansi á su pueblo, Manco Capac y su compañero Ayar Auca salieron de sus rancherías, llevando consigo sus cuatro mujeres ya nombradas, y caminaron para el pueblo de el Cuzco, donde estaba Alcaviza. Y antes que llegasen al pueblo, dos tiros de arcabuz, estaba poblado un pueblo pequeño, en el cual pueblo había coca y aji ; y la mujer de Ayar Ocho, él que se perdió en la cueva, llamada Mama Guaco, dió á un indio de los deste pueblo de coca un golpe con unos Ayllos y matóle y abrióle de pronto y sacóle los bofes y el corazon, y á vista de los demás del pueblo, hinchó los bofes soplándolos ; y visto por los indios del pueblo aquel caso, tuvieron gran temor, é con el miedo que habian tomado, luego en aquella hora se fueron huyendo al valle que llaman el dia de hoy Gualla, de donde han procedido los indios que el dia de hoy beneficián la coca de Gualla. Y esto hecho, pasaron adelante Manco Capac y su gente, y hablaron con Alcaviza, diciéndole que el sol los inviaba á que poblasen con él allí en aquel pueblo del Cozco ; y el Alcaviza, como le viese tan bien aderezado á él y su compañía, y las alabardes de oro que en las manos traían, y el demás servicio de oro, entendió que era ansi y que eran hijos del sol, y dijoles que poblasen donde mejor les pareciese. Y el Mango Capac agradióselo, y parecióndole bien el sitio y asiento dó agora es en esta ciudad del Cuzco la casa y convento de Santo Domingo, que antes solia ser la casa del Sol . . . hizo allí el Mango Capac y su compañero, y con el ayuda de las cuatro mujeres, una casa, sin consentir que gente Alcaviza les ayudase, aunque les querian ayudar ; en la cual se metieron ellos dos y sus cuatro mujeres."

There is a confirmation of this tradition (of the manner in which Manco Capac established himself and his people at Cuzco) in an official document of January 26, 1572, forming part of the *Informaciones acerca del Señorío y Gobierno de los Incas; Hechas por Mandado de Don Francisco de Toledo* (p. 230). Four Indians from Cuzco and from the *ayllu* or clan "Ayaruchu," stated that theirs was one of the three original clans inhabiting the Cuzco valley previous to the Inca, that they were afterward called "Alcauizas" by the Inca, and that Manco Capac "entró con mañas donde los dichos tres Ayllus estaban y tenian sus asientos halagándolos con palabras, y con gente que iba trayendo de otras partes y metiéndola de noche, se les iba entrando por fuerza en las tierras que tenian, y en diciéndole los dichos indios que no se les entrase en sus tierras, les respondia que callasen, que todos eran hermanos. . ." I quote this only to show that the general character of the tales reported by Betanzos bears the stamp of authenticity and genuineness, so far as their Indian origin is concerned. To the *Informaciones* I shall refer later.

9. Primera Parte de la Crónica del Perú (cap. ciii, p. 445).

10. Idem (p. 443): "Y que el uno dellos entró en la laguna de Titicaca y que halló en la isla mayor que tiene aquel palude gentes blancas y que tenian barbas, con los cuales peleó de tal manera, que los pudo matar á todos." This tale recalls the "gentlemen" (*caballeros*) living on the island, before the time of the Inca, about whom we were told while on the island.

11. The series of Inca war-chiefs as given by the various authors do not always agree, but I cannot enter into a discussion of this here. We are fortunate if we can even approximate the century in which an event has taken place. Only with the war-chief Tupac Yupanqui begins a certain agreement among the various sources.

12. Segunda Parte de la Crónica (cap. v, p. 5): "Antes que los Incas reinasen en estos reinos ni en ellos fuesen conocidos, cuentan estos indios otra cosa muy mayor que todas las que ellos dicen, porque afirman questuvieron mucho tiempo sin ver el sol, y que padeciendo gran trabajo con esta falta, hacian grandes votos é plegarias á los que ellos tenian por dioses, pidiéndoles la lumbre de que carecian: y quedando desta suerte, salió de la isla de Titicaca, quedó dentro de la gran laguna del Collao el sol muy resplandeciente, con qué todos se alegraron. Y luego questo pasó, dicen que de hacia las partes del Mediodia vino y remanesció un hombre blanco de crecido cuerpo, el cual en su aspecto y persona mostraba gran autoridad y veneracion, y queste varon, que así vieron, tenía tan gran poder que de los cerros hacia llanuras y de las llanuras hacia cerros grandes, haciendo fuentes en piedras vivas: y como tal poder reconociesen llamabanle Hacedor de todas las cosas criadas, Principio dellas, Padre del sol, porque, sin esto, dicen que hacia otras cosas mayores porque dió ser á los hombres y animales, y que, en fin, por su mano les vino notable beneficio. . . . Generalmente le nombran en la mayor parte Ticiviracocha, aunque en la provincia del Collao le llaman Tuapaca y en otros lugares Arnauan."

13. Segunda Parte (cap. iv, p. 4): "Tambien cuentan lo que yo tengo escrito en la primera parte, que en la isla de Titicaca, en los siglos pasados hovo unas gentes barbadas, blancas como nosotros, y que saliendo del valle de Coquimbo un capitán que había por nombre Cari, allegó á donde agora es Chucuito de donde después de haber hecho algunas poblaciones, pasó con su gente á la isla y dió tal guerra á esta gente que digo, que los mató á todos. Chirihuana, gobernador de aquellos pueblos, que son del Emperador, me contó lo que tengo escrito." . . . The Indian word *Chirihuana* is given by Cieza as the name of a "governor" of Indians under Spanish rule and by Spanish appointment. Among the Aymará there is a cluster of dancers called "Chirihuano." It is likely that "Chirihuana" is derived from *Chiri-Huayna* meaning "dark youth," which would confirm the suggested etymology of the name of the dancers, of which I have treated in a previous chapter. It is well to remember also that titles and surnames of Indians were and are often understood as personal names. The chief alluded to may have been a

Chirihuano; if so, this would confirm the statement of our informant on Titicaca island to the effect that the Chirihuanos are one of the most ancient, now esoteric, groups among the Aymará, and at the same time would give greater importance to the tradition, as folklore preserved by a particular cluster of shamans.

14. *Primera Parte de la Crónica*, (cap. c, p. 443): “Antes que los Ingas reinasen, cuentan muchos indios destos collas que hubo en su provincia dos grandes señores, el uno tenia por nombre Zapana, el otro Cari, y que estos conquistaron muchos pucares, que son sus fortalezas: y que el uno dellos entró en la laguna de Titicaca, y que halló en la isla mayor que tiene aquel palude gentes blancas y que tenian barbas, con los quales peleó de tal manera, que los pudo matar á todos . . . y al fin de haber hecho notables cosas estos dos tiranos ó señores que se habian levantado en el Collao, volvieron las armas contra si dándose guerra el uno al otro procurando el amistad y favor de Viracocha inga, que en aquellos tiempos reinaba en el Cuzco, el cual trató la paz en Chucuito con Cari, y tuvo tales mañas, que sin guerra se hizo señor de muchas gentes destos collas.”

15. For details of the biography of Cieza, I refer to the Introduction of the *Segunda Parte de la Crónica* by Jimenez de la Espada, and to vol. II of Vedia's *Historiadores primitivos de Indias* (Noticias biográficas, pp. ix, x).

16. *Discurso sobre la Descendencia y Gobierno de los Ingas*, published in 1892 by Jimenez de la Espada under the title *Una Antigualla Peruana*. I owe the knowledge of this highly interesting document to the notice which my esteemed friend Carlos A. Romero, custodian of the National Archives at Lima, gave me of its existence at the library, accompanying the information with the book itself. The text of what I have translated is: “Al tiempo que gobernó en este reino del Perú el licenciado Vaca de Castro, pretendiendo con mucha solicitud saber la antigualla de los indios deste reino y origen dellos, de los ingas, señores que fueron destos reinos, y si fueron naturales desta, tierra ó advenedizos de otras partes . . . hizo juntar y parecer ante si á todos los ingas viejos é antiguos del Cuzco y de toda su comarca, é informarse dellos, como se pretendió, ninguno informó con satisfaccion sino muy variablemente cada uno en derecho de su parte, sin saber dar otra razon mas que todos los ingas fueron descendientes de Mango Capac, que fué el primer inga, sin saber dar otra razon, no conformando los unos con los otros. E vistóse apuradas en esta demanda, dixeron que todos los ingas pasados tuvieron sus *Quipu-Camayos*, ansi del origen y principio dellos, como de los tiempos y cosas acontecidas en tiempo de cada señor dellos: é dieron razon, que con la venida de *Chalcochima* é *Quisquis*, capitanes queran por *Atao-vallpa Inga* que destruyeron la tierra, los cuales mataron todos los Quipocamayos que pudieron haber á las manos y los quemaron los quipos, diciendo que de nuevo habian de comenzar de *Ticicapac Inga*, que ansi le llamaron á *Atao Vallpa Inga*, é dieron noticia de algunos que quedaron, los cuales andaban por los montes atemorizados por los tiráños pasados.

Vaca de Castro envió luego por ellos y le trujeron antel cuatro muy viejos.

"Estos Quipocamayos habian sido á manera de historiadores contadores de la razon, y fueron muchos, y en todos ellos habia conformidad en sus quipos y cuentas: no tenian otro ejercicio mas de tener gran cuenta con sus Quipos ansi del origen, principio de los ingas, come de cada uno en particular, desde el dia que nacian cada uno como de las cosas acontecidas en tiempo de cada señor dellos. Estaban obligados á dar cuenta y razon de todo lo que les demandasen, y estaban obligados á enseñar á sus hijos y tenerlos bien examinados y verdaderos, dándoles á conocer las significaciones de cada cosa. A estos se les daba racion muy cumplida de todo género de mantenimientos para cada mes del año, y se les daban mujeres y criados, y ellos no habian de tener otra ocupacion mas de tener gran cuenta con sus quipos, y tenerlos bien alistados con la relacion verdadera. Los que trujeron ante Vaca de Castro pidieron término para alistar sus quipos, y se les dieron y en partes cadauno de por si apartados los unos de los otros, por ver si conformaban los unos con los otros en las cuentas que cada uno daba. Diéron este cargo á personas de mucha curiosidad por interpretacion de Pedro Escalante indio ladino en lengua castellana, el cual servia á Vaca de Castro de intérprete, con asistencia de Juan de Betanzos y Francisco de Villacastin vecinos desta ciudad del Cuzco, personas que sabian muy bien la lengua general deste reino, los cuales iban escribiendo lo que por los Quipos iban declarando." It would be too prolix to quote the full text of the Indian's talk (p. 5).

17. *Discurso* (p. 9): "Los dos Quipocamayos de los cuatro que ante Vaca de Castro parescieron, el uno llamado Callapiña y el otro Supno [perhaps *Sucso*, which is a Quichua name], los cuales fueron naturales de Pacaritambo, estos dieron razon que sus padres y abuelos, como Quipocamayos que fueron de los ingas, contaban á sus hijos y nietos, encomendando el silencio dello, haber sido Mango Capac, primer inga hijo de un Curaca, Señor de Pacaritambo, que no le alcanzaron el nombre porque como naturales del mismo lugar, alcanzaron el origen del." (p. 9.)

18. Special attention is called to the phrase "encomendando el silencio dello." It shows that the *true* story, divested of mythologic embellishment, was known and preserved, but as a *secret* not fit to be told the "vulgar." This hints at esoterism existent long prior to the pressure exerted upon the shamans after the conquest. I also call attention to the words "sino muy variablemente cada uno en derecho de su parte." This means that the Inca Indians first questioned, replied each one to suit his own interest, and different from the others.

19. *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Perú* (reprint in vol. II of *Historiadores primitivos*, of Vedia, cap. x, p. 470): "En todas las provincias del Perú habia señores principales, que llamaban curacas. . . . Estos señores mantenian en paz sus indios . . . sin tener señor general de toda la tierra, hasta que de la parte del Collao por una gran laguna que allí hay, llamada Titicaca, que tiene ochenta leguas de

boja, vino una gente muy belicosa, que llamaron ingas: los cuales andan tresquilados y las orejas horadadas, y metidos en los agujeros unos pedazos de oro redondo con qué les van ensanchando. Estos tales se llaman ringrim, que quiere decir oreja. Y al principal dellos llamaron Zapalla inga, que es solo señor, aunque algunos quieren decir que le llamaron inga Viracocha, que es tanto como espuma ó grasa de la mar; porque, como no sabian el origen de la tierra donde vino, creian que se habia criado de aquella laguna. . . . Estos ingas comenzaron á poblar la ciudad del Cuzco."

20. *Relacion* (p. 234): "Unos dicen que salió de la isla de Titicaca ques una isla questá en una laguna en el Collao, que tenia sesenta leguas en torno. . . . Otros indios dicen queste primer Señor salió de Tambo; este Tambo está en Condesuios seis leguas del Cuzco poco mas ó menos. Este primer Inga dicen se llamaba Inga Vira Cocha" . . .

21. *Segunda Parte de la Crónica* (p. 3): "Porque yo lo que voy contando no tengo otros testimonios ni libros que los dichos de estos indios." (p. 14:) "Y parece que los pasados Incas, por engrandecer con gran hazaña su nacimiento, en sus cantares se apregona lo que en esto tienen." (cap. xi, p. 35:) "Y asi, sabido lo que se ha de decir de lo pasado en semejantes fiestas de los señores muertos, y si se trata de guerra por el consiguiente, con órden galano cantaban de muchas batallas que en lugares de una y otra parte del reyno se dieron; y por el consiguiente, para cada negocio tenian ordenados sus cantares ó romances, que, viniendo á propósito, se cantasen para que por ellos se animase la gente con lo oír y entendiesen lo pasado en otros tiempos, sin lo inorar, por entero. Y estos indios que por mandado de los reyes sabian estos romances, eran honrados por ellos y favorecidos, y tenian cuidado grande de los enseñar á sus hijos y á hombres de sus provincias los mas avisados y entendidos que entre todos se hallaban; y asi, por las bocas de unos lo sabian otros, de tal manera, que hoy dia entre ellos cuentan lo que pasó ha quinientos años, como si fueran diez." He calls the *quipucamayos* simply "contadores," and limits their duties to recording tribute in every district or tribe, "y por estos nudos tenian la cuenta y razon de lo que habian de tributar los que estaban en aquel distrito." I use the term "district," wishing however to have it understood as equivalent to "tribal range."

22. *The Fables and Rites of the Incas.* (In *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Incas*, published by the Hakluyt Society, 1873, after translations by Sir Clements R. Markham, pp. 4 to 8.) The full title of the manuscript in the National Archives of Lima is: *Relacion de las fabulas y ritos de los Yngas hecha por Christoval de Molina, etc.* The hospital for Indians was founded at Cuzco with the aid of voluntary donations of the Spanish inhabitants (to the amount of 17,314 pesos—a large sum for that time). The subscriptions were opened March 15, 1556, and in eleven days 14,500 pesos had been subscribed. See *Relacion de las mandas y limosnas que los vecinos y habitantes hicieron en la fundacion del dicho hospital*, MS., original in *Libro viejo de la fundacion de la gran ciudad del Cuzco*.

23. For Garcilasso's writings I used, while in Peru, the original edition of his *Comentarios Reales*. My library not having arrived at the date I rewrite this paper at New York, I have used translations: thus I shall refer also to Baudoin's French translation occasionally. The passages quoted are found in the original of the *Comentarios Reales* (vol. I, p. 14 et seq., and caps. xv to xvii inclusive).

24. *Comentarios* (vol. I, p. 14), also *Histoire des Yncas Rois du Pérou* (1704, vol. I, livre I, cap. XVIII, p. 73 et seq.).

25. *Histoire des Yncas*, vol. I, livre I, cap. vi, p. 21, et seq.

26. *Idem*, vol. II, p. 33, et seq.

27. *Idem*, p. 489.

28. *Idem*, vol. I, p. 157.

29. *Informaciones acerca del Señorio y Gobierno de los Incas*.

30. *Idem* (p. 256): "Se les leyó á los dichos indios todo lo que estaba escrito y pintado en los dichos cuatro paños, así de los bultos de los Ingas, como de las medallas de sus mujeres é ayllos, é la historia de las cenefas de lo que sucedió en tiempo de cada uno de los Ingas, y la fábula y notables que van puestos en el primer paño, quelllos dicen de Tambotoco, y las fábulas de las creaciones del Viracocha que van en la cenefa del primer paño por fundamento y principio de la Historia." . . .

31. *Idem* (p. 267): "Otro testigo es don Diego Lucana, principal de los mitimas Cañaris y Chachapoyas Llaguas, que están en el repartimiento de los Lurinhuancas, en la Purificación de Huacho, . . . confirma todo lo anteriormente dicho, y añade que Manco Capac había salido de una Peña de Plomo." This Lucana must have been either from southern Ecuador or from northeastern Peru, hence was not conversant with ancient lore at first hand. In regard to the derivation of Titicaca, it is certain that, in Quichua, *titi* means "lead" or "tin," and *kaka* means "rock"; the latter word has also the same signification in Aymará. But *Titicaca* is an Aymará, not a Quichua, word. The Indians who dwelt on and near the island, long before the Inca appeared there, were Aymará, who gave the name to the island in their language, in which it signifies "rock of the wild cat" or "cat-rock." For the Quichua etymology see Torres Rubio, *Arte y Vocabulario* (fol. 76, 162).

32. *Histoire du Pérou* (French translation of the *Miscellanea austral*, by Ternaux-Compans). His opinion on the traditions is on page 11: "Je pense donc qu'une famille qui habitait le haut Pérou conçut, vers cette époque, le projet de fonder une monarchie. Après avoir fabriqué secrètement des vêtements brillants d'or et de Piergeries, ils quittèrent le lieu de leur habitation, et ne voyagèrent que de nuit, pour éviter d'être vus, ils arrivèrent à cinq lieues de Cuzco, dans un endroit où les habitants du voisinage avaient l'habitude de se réunir pour y tenir une espèce de marché et y échanger les produits de leur industrie — ils apparurent tout à coup au milieu d'eux et profitèrent de leur étonnement pour leur persuader qu'ils étaient enfants du soleil, et envoyés par lui. "This same explanation is offered later, by Anello Oliva. I shall refer to it hereafter.

The mention of Titicaca is found on page 144: "Beaucoup d'Indiens prétendent que les frères qui apparurent à Pacari-tambo, comme je l'ai raconté dans le premier chapitre, étaient natiifs de Titicaca, et que ce fut dans cet endroit que l'on fabriqua les vêtements avec lesquels ils se montrèrent la première fois."

33. Torres Saldamando, *Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Perú* (pp. 2-10).

34. I use the copy of the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* of 1608, published at Madrid (libro vi, cap. 19, p. 429): "Por Mandado de la Magestad Católica del Rey don Felipe nuestro señor, se hizo aueriguacion con la diligencia que fué posible del origen, y ritos, y fuentes de los Ingas, y por no tener aquellos Indios escrituras, no se pudo apurar tanto como se desseára." This is clearly an allusion to the investigations conducted by the viceroy Toledo and reported on in the *Informaciones acerca del Señorio y Gobierno*, quoted above.

35. *Historia natural y moral* (lib. I, cap. 25, pp. 82, 83).

36. Idem (lib. vi, cap. 20, p. 432).

37. *Origen de los Indios* (edition of 1729). The first edition of this important work bears date 1607 and is much less voluminous. Barcia, the editor of the second edition, made some additions to the text.

38. The title of Gomára's Chronicle, second edition, is *Primera y Segunda Parte de la historia general de las Indias hasta el año de 1551*, etc., Medina del Campo, 1553. Gomára was born at Sevilla in 1510; the date of his death is not known to me as yet. Few authors who wrote on Spanish America in the sixteenth century have been so severely criticized by contemporaries as Gomára; but these criticisms apply to incidents of the conquest rather than to the descriptions of customs, or to traditions reported by him. Gomára owed the disfavor he suffered from the Spanish government to his intimate relations with Cortés.

39. I use the reprint of Gomára in vol. I of Vedia, *Primera y Segunda Parte de la Historia general de las Indias* (p. 231): "Su naturaleza fué de Tiquicaca, que es una laguna en el Collao, cuarenta leguas del Cuzco, la cual quiere decir isla de plomo; cá de muchas isletas que tiene pobladas, alguna lleva plomo, que se llama tiqui. Boja ochenta leguas; recibe diez ó doce ríos grandes y muchos arroyos; despidelos por un solo río, empero muy ancho y hondo, que va á parar en otra laguna cuarenta leguas hacia el oriente, donde se suma, no sin admiracion de quien la mira. El principal inga que sacó de Tiquicaca los primeros, que los acaudilló, se nombraba Zapalla, que significa solo señor. Tambien dicen algunos indios ancianos que se llamaba Viracocha que quiere decir grasa del mar, y que trajo su gente por la mar. Zapalla, en conclusion, afirman que pobló y asentó en el Cuzco, de donde comenzaron los ingas á querrear la comarca." In these statements of Gomara there is something that recalls Betanzos and Cieza, as well as the subsequent tales related by Anello Oliva.

40. Leinus Apollonius, *de Peruanæ Regionis, inter Noui Orbis prouincias Celeberrimæ, inuentione: & in eadem gestis, libri v*, Ant-

werp, 1567 (folio 36): "Tantis per dum ab Titicaca lacu Ingae numerosa multitudine profusi, Cuzconem ocuparunt, Apud hos pures onrem summarii vniuersae, quem Ingam Zapalim nominarūt." It is likely that Apollonius copied Gomára and not Zárate.

41. The first edition of Herrera is from 1601-1615. I use the one (edited by Barcia) from 1726, 1728-1730, *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra firme del Mar Océano*. (3 volumes.)

42. Dr A. von Frantzius, (*San Salvador und Honduras im Jahre 1576*), published in 1873, a "cheap" criticism of Herrera, accusing him of mechanical copying, lack of critical spirit, and the like. Had this German traveler (otherwise a worthy man) studied Herrera with more of the spirit which he accuses the Spanish chronicler of not possessing, he might have modified his opinion.

43. *Historia general*, década v, lib. III, cap. vi, p. 61.

44. Idem.

45. *Las Repúblicas del Mundo*, Salamanca, 1595, vol. III, lib. II, cap. XL, f. 163.

46. *Extirpacion de la idolatría del Perú*, Lima, 1621.

47. *Contra Idolatriam*, MS. quoted by Calancha.

48. There are various treatises and reports by this energetic and active priest. An unpublished one is in my possession as a copy, taken from the original in the Dominican convent at Lima.

49. *Carta pastoral de Exortacion é Instruccion Contra la Idolatría de los Indios del Peru*, 1649.

50. Only the French translation of a part of this work is at my command. Its title is *Mémoires historiques sur l'ancien Pérou*. (Collection Ternaux-Compans, vol. XVII, second ser., p. 3): "Voilà, du moins, ce que j'ai pu apprendre dans les chants historiques et les anciennes traditions des Indiens." Thus, he claims to derive his information from songs and oral tradition. It implies that he regards them as the chief sources. He wrote about 1652. (Preface, p. viii.)

51. *Origen de los Indios*.

52. *Historia del Perú*, lib. I, cap. II, p. 23: "Noticia será esta que no se hallará tan facilmente en las historias, por lo menos con auer visto, leido muchas no la hé alcançado dellas, y en el tiempo que estoy escribiendo esta vinieron á mis manos unos papeles originales, que me dió el doctor Bartholomé Cervantes, racionero de la Sancta yglesia de los Charcas en que hallé con puntualidad lo que muchos años á é deseado saber, y diré aun que solo por relacion del Quipucamayo Catari coronista que fué de los Incas, y lo fueron sus padres y todos lo tuvieron del primer coronista inuentor de los quipos que dixe arriba llamado illa, tomando pues la corriente de su principio." . . .

53. *Historia del Perú*, lib. I, cap. II, pp. 23-37. It is too long to quote in full in the text.

54. Idem (p. 38): "Luego diuidió el Reino en quatro partes que

son las mismas en qué el gran Huyustus antes que comenzará á reinar su padre Manco Capac lo auia repartido . . . [p. 39:] y passó á las partes de Tyyay Vanacu por ver sus edificios que antiguamente llamaban Chucara, cuya, antiguedad nadie supo determinalla. Mas solo que alli viuia el gran señor Huyustus que decian era Señor de todo el mundo.” The word *Huyustus* is somewhat strange. It is neither Quichua nor Aymará, and recalls the way in which the Indians of these parts would pronounce “Augustus.”

55. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, vol. iv, p. 55: “El adoratorio del sol que estaba en la isla de Titicaca, era una grande y firme peña, cuya veneracion y motivo porque la consagraron al Sol tiene por principio y fundamento una novela bien ridicula, y es, que los antiguos afirman, que habiendo carecido de luz celestial muchos días en esta provincia, y estando todos los moradores della admirados, confusos y amedrentados de tan obscuras y largas tinieblas, los que habitaban la isla sobredicha de Titicaca vieron una mañana salir al Sol de aquella peña con extraordinario resplandor, por lo cual creyéron ser aquel peñasco la casa y morada verdadera del Sol ó la mas acepta cosa á su gusto de cuantas en el mundo habia; y asi se lo dedicaron y edificaron allí un templo suntuoso para en aquellos tiempos, aunque no lo fué tanto como despues que los Incas lo engrandeciérón é ilustraron.

“Otros refieren esta fábula diferentemente y dicen, que la razon de haberse dedicado al Sol esta peña, fué porque debajo della estuvo escondido y guardado el Sol todo el tiempo que duraron las aguas del Diluvio, el cual pasado, salió de alli y comenzó á alumbrar al mundo por aquel lugar, siendo aquella peña la primera cosa que gozó de su luz. Como quiera que haya sido el principio y origen deste santuario, él tenia muy grande antiguedad y siempre fué muy venerado de las gentes del Collao, antes que fueran sujetadas por los Reyes Incas.”

56. “El camino por donde vino á noticia del Inca y ser tan celebrado fué este . . . uno de los viejos que desde su puericia servia en el ministerio dél, . . . se puso en camino para la ciudad del Cuzco . . . y presentandose ante él con las ceremonias y sumisiones que suelen usar, le dió cuenta larga del origen y veneracion deste santuario, de que el Inca hasta entonces no había tenido noticia.”

57. On the subject of confession, see Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para Parrochos de Indias*, Antwerp, 1754, lib. iv, trat. III, secs. I and II, p. 538 et seq.; Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute*; Juan de Solorzano Pereira, *Politica indiana*, edition of 1703, lib. II, cap. XXIX, etc., and many other authors.

58. The work of Father Ramos Gavilan is exceedingly rare. I know of only three copies, one of which was taken to Spain by Father Rafael Sans, while two are still in Bolivia. The National Library at Lima has no copy of the work. My friend the Right Reverend Bishop of La Paz, Fray Nicolas Armentia, had the kindness to compare the text of one of these copies with the book of Father Sans, and to furnish me with the title of the original, which is *Historia del célebre y milagroso Santuario*

de la Ynsigne Ymágen de Nřa Sřa de Copacabana, Lima, 1621. Of the partial reprints of the work by Father Sans there are two rare editions, the first one of which, dated 1860, contains a map of Lake Titicaca, which is by no means indifferent although badly printed, and an outline sketch of Copacavana which is also reasonably exact. It is sometimes not easy to separate what belongs to the original of Ramos from what is due to the pen of his editor, although, thanks to the painstaking collation of Bishop Armentia, it has now become possible.

59. In the first edition by Sans: *Historia de Copacabana y de su Milagrosa Imájen de la Virjen* (1860, caps. 3 and 4, p. 4), Sans says: "Aqui empieza lo obra que comprendiamos." He has omitted parts of the original, for the just reason that his copy lacked chapters I, II, and part of chapter III of the work. From the copy made of chapter II by Armentia I obtained what Ramos says concerning the origin of the Inca, and not a word is said in it of Titicaca. The Inca are said to have originated at Pacari-tambo.

60. *Historia de Copacabana* (caps. I-II). This first chapter is from the pen of Sans exclusively. Caps. III-IV, p. 4, mention the story of the old man who went to Cuzco, attributing it to Ramos.

61. Idem, p. 54 et seq.

62. Idem, cap. VIII, p. 12: "El fundamento de la estimacion de esta isla fué el haberse creido por los antiguos que, habiendo estado en tinieblas algunos dias, vieron despues salir al sol de aquella peña." I call attention to the various versions about the state of darkness in which the region is said to have been plunged. Some authors speak of a long period of obscurity, while others mention only the darkening of the skies during a few days. Such a short period of obscurity occurred in the year 1600, in consequence of the eruption of the volcano of Omate, south of Arequipa, described in *Historia del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Arequipa y Reventazon del Volcan de Omate*, 1600 (MS. in the National Archives at Lima). The obscurity produced by the ashes, even on Lake Titicaca which lies about 120 miles away in an air-line, was such that Ramos (*Historia*, p. 120) says: "Viendose los de Copacabana oprimidos con tan densa obscuridad, sin ver la luna, ni el sol, ni la laguna, ni aun los cerros del pueblo."

63. *Crónica Moralizada*, vol. II.

64. Idem, vol. I, lib. II, cap. x, p. 366. "Asentado esto se conforman los Autores en dezir, que en todas las tierras arriba de Chuquiago, Chuquisaca, Potosí i sus comarcas, dōde el Licenciado Polo izo la averiguacion, i en las de Chucuito. . . . [Page 367:] Y asi irritado del todo les arrojó tan gran aguacero, i tan inmensa cantidad de agua, que aogó todos los ombres, de los cuales se escaparon algunos (no culpados), permitiendoles Dios, que se subiesen en altísimos árboles, en coronas de los encumbrados montes, i se escondiesen en cuevas, i grutas de la tierra, de donde los sacó, quando el llover avia cesado, i les dió órden que poblasen la tierra, i fuesen dueños della, donde viviesen alegres i dichosos. . . . I convirtió á todos los maestros destros adoratorios en piedras duras. . . .

Asta entonces no avia el Pachachayachachic criado al Sol, la Luna i las estrellas, i fuélas à criar al pueblo de Tiaguanaco, i á la laguna Titicaca de Chucuito. El Sol se fué luego al Indio Mangocapac i le prohijo é izo Rey. . . . " The story about the deluge has a suspicious analogy with Mosaic tradition ; and that about the changing into stone of the artisans (*maestros*) who made the monuments at Tiahuanaco might easily be a "myth of observation."

65. *Ibid.*, page 93 : " Era natural de Tiaguanaco, ó de algú pueblo-zuelo conjunto á él."

66. *De diva virgine, Copacavana, in péruano novi mundi Regno celeberrima. Liber vñvs, Quo eius Origo, et Miracula compendio descripta*, Rome, 1656.

67. *Imagen de N. S. de Copacavana.*

68. *Idem*, fol. 19.

69. *Relacion de Antigüedades del Perú.*

70. *Relacion*, page 234 : " Dizen que en el tiempo de *Purunpacha* todas las naciones de *Tauantinsuyu* benieron de hazia arriba de Potosí tres ó quatro exercitos en forma de guerra, y assi los vinieron poblando, tomando los lugares, quedándose cada vno de las compañias en los lugares baldíos ; á este tiempo se llaman *Ccallacpacha* ó *Tutayachacha* : y como cada vno cogieron lugares baldíos para sus beuiendas y moradas, esto le llaman *Purunpachacha Raccaptin*, este tiempo." For the rest see pp. 236-240.

71. I call attention to the darkening of the skies at Copacavana in 1600, in consequence of the eruption of Omate, previously mentioned.

72. Cieza, *Primera Parte de la Crónica*, cap. cxvi, p. 453 : " En el Perú no hablan otra cosa los indios, sino decir que los unos vinieron de una parte y los otros de otra, y con guerras y contiendas los unos se hacian señores de las tierras de los otros, y bien parece ser verdad, y la gran antigüedad desta gente por las señales de los campos que labraban."

